

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 12769

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, XH

SUBJ: KOMMUNIST BLASTS MAOISM

1. SUMMARY. THE MOSCOW DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY IS BUZZING WITH
SPECULATION ABOUTTHE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LONG ANTI-PEKING
DIATRIBE IN THE AUGUST ISSUEOF THE SOVIET PARTY THEORETICAL
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JOURNAL, KOMMUNIST (NO. 12), SIGNED TO PRESS AUGUST 12.

OBSERVERS GENERALLY AGREE THAT THE ARTICLE, WHICH IS UNSIGNED AND THEREFORE HIGHLY AUTHORITATIVE, HAS SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE AND IS VERY HARSH, BUT SO FAR THEY HAVE FEW CONCRETE IDEAS ABOUT WHAT IT PORTENDS FOR SOVIET POLICY. THE CHINESE ARE DOWNPLAYING ITS SIGNIFICANCE, WHILE OTHERS SUGGEST THAT IT COULD ADUMBRATE A "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE" FOR CHINA WHICH WOULD JUSTIFY A MORE ACTIVE SINO-SOVIET CONFRONTATION.

2. IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE ARTICLE IS TO SET OUT CLEARLY THE ANTI-MAOIST LINE WHICH THE SOVIETS HOPE TO SELL TO OTHER PARTIES AT A EUROPEAN (AND LATER A WORLD) COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. IT ANATHEMATIZES "NEUTRALITY" IN THE SINO-SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE AND EFFECTIVELY RULES OUT ANY EARLY SOFTENING IN SOVIET POLICY TOWARD PEKING. IT SEEKS TO STRENGTHEN THE FAITHFUL AND SWAY THE DOUBTERS, AND SEEMS TO HERALD INTENSIFIED SINO-SOVIET COMPETITION WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND IN THE "THIRD WORLD." IT MAY ALSO REFLECT FRUSTRATION AT THE UNWILLINGNESS OF OTHER PARTIES AND STATES TO LINE UP AGAINST PEKING. IF THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN UP HOPE OF ACHIEVING EUROPEAN (AND WORLD) COMMUNIST CONSENSUS AROUND THEIR ANTI-MAOIST LINE, THEY HAVE AT LEAST WRITTEN IT INTO THE PUBLIC RECORD WITH THIS ARTICLE.

3. THE TIMING OF THE ARTICLE MAY ALSO BE RELATED TO PEKING'S OWN RECENT ANTI-SOVIET POLEMICS, ESPECIALLY THE MAY 9 PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL AND THE JULY 1 NCNA COMMENTATOR ARTICLE. IT IS THE MOST THOROUGH AND AUTHORITATIVE ANTI-PEKING ARTICLE OUT OF MOSCOW SINCE THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLES OF AUGUST 1973 AND 74. FOR ALL OF ITS INVECTIVE, HOWEVER, THE ARTICLE DOES NOT THREATEN THE PRC DIRECTLY, BARELY TOUCHES SPECIFIC BILATERAL ISSUES, AND REPEATS THE FORMULATION THAT THE CHINESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES WILL EVENTUALLY SEE THE LIGHT AND RID THEMSELVES OF THE ERRORS OF MAOISM. END SUMMARY.

4. IN OUTLINE (WE ASSUME THAT FBIS HAS OR WILL PUBLISH THE FULL TEXT), THE ARTICLE BEGINS WITH AN INTRODUCTION WHICH DESCRIBES DETENTE AS THE MAIN TREND IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND PAINTS PEKING AS ITS ACTIVE OPPONENT. IN THE MOST INFLAMMATORY PARAGRAPH, KOMMUNIST SAYS: "THE DANGEROUS AND ADVENTURIST NATURE OF THE MAOIST LEADERSHIP'S POLICY LENDS

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SPECIAL URGENCY TO THE CHINESE PROBLEM. MAOISM IS A POLICY AND AN IDEOLOGY HAS CEASED TO BE MERELY A DOMESTIC PROBLEM OF CHINA, BUT ALSO CONCERNS THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, TURNING INTO A FACTOR WHICH CONCERNS ALL PEACE-LOVING STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEMS, AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES, BECAUSE IT REPRESENTS A GROWING THREAT TO EVERYONE. MAOISM HAS NOW JOINED FORCES WITH ANTI-COMMUNISM AND COMES OUT AGAINST DETENTE, BEING

ACTUALLY AN APOLOGIST FOR A NEW WORLD WAR. THE CHINESE PROBLEM IS INCREASINGLY BECOMING ONE OF THE MOST ACUTE POLITICAL ISSUES OF TODAY."

5. THE ARTICLE THEN ATTACKS MAOISM'S ALLEGED DEVIATION FROM "SOCIALIST" PRINCIPLES IN DOMESTIC POLICY, PORTRAYING A POWER-HUNGRY LEADERSHIP DEVOTED TO MILITARISM AND REPRESSION, PLAGUED BY FACTIONALISM AND SCORNFUL OF ITS OWN PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS FOR A BETTER LIFE. IN THE CAMPAIGN TO CRITICIZE LIN BIAO AND CONFUCIUS, THE MAOISTS SOUGHT "TO BUILD UP THE CULT OF VIOLENCE AND BRUTALITY IN THE COUNTRY," SAYS KOMMUNIST. THE CAMPAIGN WAS MARKED BY "RAVAGERY WITHIN THE MAOIST GROUP ITSELF," AND WAS AIMED AT CONTINUING THE "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY UPHEAVALS" OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. KOMMUNIST DESCRIBES THE NEW CONSTITUTION AS "A MANIFESTO OF OUTSPOKEN MILITARISM" AND AN ATTEMPT "TO MAKE THE MAOIST COURSE IRREVERSIBLE." THIS CONSTITUTION EFFECTIVELY BARS CHINA FROM RETURNING TO THE TRUE SOCIALIST PATH, LAMENTS KOMMUNIST. THE RECENT "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" CAMPAIGN SEEKS TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER THE "MAOIST DICTATORSHIP" AND TO ATTACK "THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VITAL RIGHTS" AND THEIR ASPIRATIONS FOR A BETTER LIFE.

6. IN DESCRIBING THE PRC DOMESTIC SCENE GENERALLY, KOMMUNIST STRESSES SIGNS OF DISCONTENT THROUGHOUT THE SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN THE MILITARY, THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE SKILLED LABOR FORCE. WITH UNINTENDED IRONY, KOMMUNIST ALSO CHARGES THAT CHINA'S INTELLIGENTSIA IS DEPRIVED OF THE CHANCE TO DO "TRULY CREATIVE WORK," LAMENTS THE ABUSE OF TRADITIONAL CHINESE CULTURE AND CLAIMS THAT YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE BEEN "DENIED THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE A ROAD TO FOLLOW IN LIFE." IN SOCIALIST TERMS, SAYS KOMMUNIST, "THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN CHINA CONTINUES TO WORSEN" AND MAO'S POLICIES "DISCREDIT THE IDEAS OF SOCIALISM."

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7. AFTER CONFIDENTLY PREDICTING THAT "THE MAOIST REGIME IS INEVITABLY DOOMED," IT RULES OUT ANY PROSPECT FOR EARLY CHANGE FOR THE BETTER, SAYING, "IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT A RADICAL CHANGE IN CHINA'S PRESENT DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY ONLY AS A RESULT OF ANOTHER ONE OR TWO CRISIS PHENOMENA OR OTHER EVENTS IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY" -- AN IMPLIED BUT OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO THE DEATHS OF MAO AND CHOU.

8. THE THIRD SECTION BLASTS "MAO TSE-TUNG'S FOREIGN POLICY LINE." PEKING, IT SAYS, SEEKS TO FORM AN "ANTI-SOCIALIST, ANTI-SOVIET ALLIANCE WITH ALL OF THE MOST RABID REACTIONARY FORCES OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD." IT GOES ON TO SAY:

(A) "THE MAOISTS' POLICY...PRESENT A REAL THREAT TO UNIVERSAL PEACE."

(B) "THE PROCESS OF EXPANDING RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WEST HAS GONE BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF ORDINARY NORMALIZATION..."

(C) "THE MAOIST LEADERSHIP IS PREVENTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LASTING PEACE IN THE WORLD AND IS SUPPORTING THE REACTIONARY FORCES THAT WANT A RESUMPTION OF THE COLD WAR."

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4189
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW EWEW

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9. THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO DENOUNCE PEKING'S CONCEPT OF THREE

WORLDS WITH THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION AS THE FIRST, OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES THE SECOND, AND ALL OTHERS THE THIRD. SUCH A FORMULATION HAS NO "CLASS" BASIS, SAYS KOMMUNIST, LUMPING "SOCIALISTS" WITH "IMPERIALISTS," AND IGNORING THE SUPPORT WHICH "SOCIALISM" HAS GIVEN TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. PEKING'S EFFORTS TO IDENTIFY WITH THE "THIRD WORLD" AGAINST SO-CALLED CONFIDENTIAL

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"SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISM" ARE REALLY AIMED AT EXPANDING ITS OWN HEGEMONY, ESPECIALLY ALONG ITS SOUTHERN FLANK, SAYS KOMMUNIST.

10. MAOISTS ALSO SEEK TO UNDERMINE THE SOCIALIST STATES AND TO SPREAD DISORDER WITHIN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, SAYS KOMMUNIST. "THE MAO TSE-TUNG GROUP IS ENGAGED IN OPEN SUBVERSION AGAINST THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE SOCIALIST STATES." KOMMUNIST REFERS TO PEKING'S SUPPORT FOR WEST GERMAN "REVENGE SEEKERS" AND TO "CLAIMS" AGAINST MONGOLIA'S TERRITORY, BUT DOES NOT MENTION BILATERAL SINO-SOVIET ISSUES DIRECTLY.

11. FINALLY GETTING TO THE MAIN POINT, KOMMUNIST SAYS THAT GOOD MARXISTS-LENINISTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO SEE PEKING'S AIMS AND JOIN IN EFFORTS TO THWART THEM. BUT SOME BENIGHTED SOULS SEEM NOT TO SEE THE DANGERS. "THOSE WHO COME OUT AGAINST THE EXPOSURE OF THE HARM DONE BY MAOISM, AGAINST CRITICISM OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS OF THE PEKING LEADERS, AGAINST JOINT STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY AND COHESION OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THOSE WHO TRY TO PRESENT MAOISM AS SOME SPECIFICALLY CHINESE 'NATIONAL MODEL OF SOCIALISM', RENDER HELP TO PEKING'S SCHISMATICS, WHETHER THEY WISH IT OR NOT." SHARPENING THE POINT, KOMMUNIST CONTINUES THAT "'NEUTRALISM' OR, STILL WORSE, A CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE TOWARDS MAOISM AND MAO TSE-TUNG'S POLICIES, WHATEVER THE FORM THEIR MANIFESTATION TAKES, OBJECTIVELY PROMOTE THE ANTI-MARXIST, ANTI-SOCIALIST AIMS OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP." THEREFORE THE COURSE, AS KOMMUNIST CHARTS IT, IS CLEAR: "STRUGGLE AGAINST MAOISM IS A STRUGGLE FOR GREATER UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND SECURITY OF PEOPLES." THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES WITH A CALL TO "DEFEAT MAOISM, THEORETICALLY AND POLITICALLY" AND REPEATS THE NOW STANDARD PREDICTION THAT "THE CHINESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES WILL TURN OVER A NEW LEAF." THE OBJECTIVE, SAYS KOMMUNIST, "IS NOT TO 'EXCOMMUNICATE' THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS," BUT "TO STRUGGLE AGAINST MAO TSE-TUNG'S DOCTRINE." SUCH A STRUGGLE "IS A MEANS OF SUPPORTING THE CHINESE REVOLUTION," SAYS KOMMUNIST.

12. A PRC DIPLOMAT HERE TOLD A JAPANESE COLLEAGUE THAT THE CHINESE CONSIDER THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE SIMPLY ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF ANTI-PEKING PROPAGANDA AND ATTACH NO SPECIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPORTANCE TO IT. INDEED, MOST OF THE THEMES ARE FAMILIAR IN SOVIET POLEMICS AND THEIR TREATMENT HERE GENERALLY FOLLOWS LONG-STANDING SOVIET LINES. PERHAPS IT IS SIMPLY A VERBAL FORM OF MASSIVE RETALIATION AGAINST RECENT PEKING BORADSIDES, NOTABLY THE PEOPLE' DAILY EDITORIAL OF MAY 9 AND THE NCNA COMMENTATOR ARTICLE OF JULY 1 (WHERE PEKING CLAIMED THAT THE BREZHNEV CLIQUE HAD ACHIEVED WHAT HITLER SOUGHT IN TERMS OF EUROPEAN DOMINATION), NEITHER OF WHICH THE SOVIETS HAS RESPONDED TO PUBLICLY. HOWEVER, SUCH A SANGUINE VIEW CLEARLY SERVES PEKING'S OWN AIM OF POOH-POOHING THE ARTICLE AND IMPLYING THAT SUCH EFFORTS BY MOSCOW ARE A WASTE OF TIME AND ENERGY.

13. THE OPPOSITE VIEW, SUGGESTED BY BRITISH AMBASSADOR GRAVEY, IS THAT THE ARTICLE COULD SKETCH OUT THE BEGINNINGS OF A "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE" FOR CHINA, I.E., THAT IT COULD BE USED TO JUSTIFY MORE ACTIVE SOVIET CONFRONTATION WITH THE PRC.

14. IN OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THE MAIN TARGET IS NOT CHINA BUT RATHER THE PARTY FAITHFUL (OR NOT-SO-FAITHFUL) WHOSE RANKS MOSCOW WOULD LIKE TO STRAIGHTEN FOR A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE, AND EVENTUALLY FOR A WORLD CONFERENCE. THE ASSERTAION THAT "NEUTRALITY" IN THE IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE SERVES PEKING SOUNDS LIKE THE GHOST OF DULLES, AND THE USE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL TERM "EXCOMMUNICATE" SEEMS UNIQUELY AND IRONICALLY APPROPRIATE.

15. ON THE SURFACE, THIS APPROACH SEEMS MORE LIKELY TO EXACERBATE RATHER THAN SMOOTH THE ALREADY FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES TO A RAPID SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUSION OF ANY CONFERENCE OF PARTIES. BUT THE ARTICLE'S PUBLICATION NOW COULD ALSO INDICATE THAT MOSCOW REALIZES THE FUTILITY OF TRYING TO SELL SUCH A THESIS WVEN WITHIN THE GROUP OF EASTERN EUROPEAN RULING PARTIES, AND HAS THEREFORE GONE AHEAD TO PLACE ITS OWN POSITION UNEQUIVOCALLY ON THE RECORD. RESORT TO SUCH VEHEMENCE BY THE SOVIETS IS IN ANY CASE ONE INDICATION OF GROWING SOVIET FRUSTRATION OVER THE ISSUE.

16. TO OUR EYE, CHINA ITSELF IS AN INDIRECT TARGET, DESPITE THE MILITANT RHETORIC. ALTHOUGH THE DISEASE IS DESCRIBED, NO CURE IS DIRECTLY THREATENED. THE ARTICLE REPEATS THE PREDICTION THAT THE CHINESE WILL SOLVE THE PROBLEM THEMSELVES, BUT DESPAIRS OF ANY POSITIVE CHANGE EVEN WITH THE PASSING OF MAO.

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BY THUS RULING OUT CHANGE IN PEKING, THE ARTICLE EFFECTIVELY RULES OUT ANY BASIS FOR A MORE CONCILIATORY APPROACH BY MOSCOW

IN THE EARLY SUCCESSION PERIOD. IT WOULD, ON THE CONTRARY,
ARGUE FOR GREATER VIGILANCE AND DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE SOVIET
BLOC, AND MORE ACTIVE SINO-SOVIET COMPETITION ELSEWHERE.

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